THE LETTER OF THE PRESIDENT.

The following is a correct copy of the Letter of the President of the United States to the " Mass Convention of the Unconditional Union Men of the State of Illinois," which met at Springfield in that State yesterday, and a copy of which was transmitted to the "Mass Convention of the Young Men of New York," which also met yesterday at Syracuse. The telegraphic copy of this letter. which has been prematurely published in some of the Northern journals, and also in one journal in this city, contains, as we are informed, many important errors :

EXECUTIVE MANSION, Washington, August 26, 1863.

Hon. JAMES C. CONKLING. My DEAR SIR : Your letter, inviting me to attend a mass meeting of Unconditional Union men, to be held at the capital of Illinois on the 31 day of September, has been received. It would be very agreeable to me to thus meet my old friends at my own home, but I cannot just now be absent from this city so long as the visit there would require. The meeting is to be of all those who maintain unconditional devotion to the Union, and I am sure my old political friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's gratitude to those other noble men whom no partisan malice or partisan hope can make false to the nation's life.

There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To such I would say, You desire peace, and you blame methat we do not have it ; but how can we attain it? There are but three conceivable ways: First, to suppress rebellion by force of arms. This I am trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are agreed. If you are not for it, a second way is to give up the Union. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you should say so plainly. If you are not for force, nor yet for dissolution, there only remains some imaginary compromise. I do not believe any compromise embracing the maintenance of the Union is now possible. All I learn leads to a directly opposite belief. The strength of the rebellion is in its military-its army. That army dominates all the country and all the people within its range. Any offer of terms made by any man or men within that range, in opposition to that army, is simply nothing for the present, because such man or men have no power whatever to enforce their side of a compromise if one were made with them. To iliustrate. Suppose refugees from the South and

peace men from the North get together in Convention and frame and proclaim a compromise embracing a restoration of the Union, in what way can that compromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? Meade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and I think can ultimately drive it out of existence; but no paper compromise to which the controllers of Lee's army are not agreed can at all affect that army. In an effort at such compromise we should waste time which the enemy would improve to our disadvantage, and that would be all. A compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those who control the rebel army, or with the people first liberated from the domination of that army by the successes of our army. Now, allow me to assure you that no word or intimation from that rebel army, or from any of the men controlling it, in relation to any peace compromise, has ever come to my knowledge or belief. All charges and intimations to the contrary are deceptive and ground less; and I promise you that if any such proposition shall hereafter come it shall not be rejected and kept a secret from you. I freely acknowledge myrelf the servant of the people according to the bond of service-the United States Constitution-and that as such I am responsible to them.

But, to be plain, you are diseatisfied with me about the negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion between you and myself upon that subject. I certainly wish that all men could be free, while I suppose you do not; yet I have neither adopted nor proposed any measure which is not consistent with even your view, provided you are for the Union. I suggested compensated emancipation, to which you replied you wished not to be taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxed to buy negroes except in such way as to save you from greater You dislike the emancipation proclamation, and perhaps you would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutienal. I think differently. I think the Constitution invests its Commander-in-Chief with the law of war in time of war. The most that can be said, if so much, is that slaves are property. Is there, has there ever been any question that by the law of war property both of enemies and friends may be taken when needed? And is it not needed whenever taking it helps us or hurts the enemy? Armies, the world over, destroy enemies' property when they cannot use it, and even destroy their own to keep it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their power to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few things regarded as barbarous or cruel. Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished foes and non-combatants, male and female. But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is not valid. If it is not valid it needs no retraction. If it is valid it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be brought to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction would operate favorably for the Union. Why better after the retraction than before the issue? There was more than a year and a half of trial to suppress the rebellion before the proclamation issued; the last one hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice that it was coming unless averted by those in revolt returning to their allegiance. The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us since the issue of the proclamation as before. I know, as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field, who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy and the use of colored troops constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to Nita to Key West for adjudication. the rebellion, and that at least one of those important successes could not have been achieved when it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the commanders holding these views are some who have never had any affinity with what is called Abolitionism, or with Republican party politics, but who hold them purely as military opinions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some weight against the objections often urged that emancipation and of the season of the year, all admonished me to send the arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and prize into port with the least delay; therefore, at the time were not adopted as such in good faith.

You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them seem willing to fight for you. But no matter; fight you then exclusively to save the Union. I issued the proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. Whenever you shall have conquered all resistance to the Union, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an apt time then for you to declare you will not fight to free negroes. I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to whatever extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to that extent it weakened the enemy in ais resistance to you. Do you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes can be got to do as soldiers, caves just so much less for white soldiers to do in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise to you? But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why should they do any thing for us if we will do nothing for them? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted by the strongest motive, even the promise of freedom. And the promise, being made, must be kept.

The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes unvexed to the sea; thanks to the great Northwest for it. Nor yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met New England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, bewing their way right and left. The sunny South, too. in more colors than one, also lent a hand. On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in black and white. The job was a great national one, and let none be banned who bore an honorable part in it. While those who have cleared the great river may well be proud, even that is not all. It is hard to say that any thing has been more bravely and well done than at Antietau, Murfreesboro, Gettysburg, and on many fields of lesser note. Nor must Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the wa-

tery margins they have been present; not only on the deep ea, the broad bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy bayou, and wherever the ground was a little damp they have been and made their tracks. Thanks to all for the great Republic, for the principle it lives by and keeps alive-for man's vast future-thanks to all.

Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it will come soon, and come to stay, and so come as to be worth the keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved that among free men there can be no successul appeal from the ballot to the bullet, and that they who take such appeal are sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there will be some black men who can remember that with silent tongue and clenched teeth, and steady eye and well-poised bayonet, they have helped mankind on to this great consummation; while I fear there will be some white ones unable to forget that with malignant heart and deceitful speech they have strove to hinder it. Still let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triumph. Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, never doubting that a just God, in His own good time, will give us the rightful result.

A. LINCOLN. Yours, very truly,

GEN. GILLMORE TO GEN. BEAUREGARD.

The following is a copy of the reply which was made W Gen. GILLMORE to the letter of Gen. BEAUREGARD, protesting against the bombardment of Charleston, which was published in the Intelligencer of the 31st ultimo. This letter properly places upon the commander of the rebel forces the responsibility for any harm that might have resulted to non combatants from the bombardment of the

DEPARTMENT OF THE SOUTH Headquarters in the Field, Morris Island, S C.

August 22-9 P. M.
Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of our communication of this date, complaining that one of my batteries has opened upon the city of Charleston, and thrown a number of heavy rifle shells into that city, the phabitants of which, of course, were asleep and un-

My letter to you demanding the surrender of Fort Sumter and Morris Island, and threatening, in default thereof, to open fire upon Charleston, was delivered near Fort Wagner at 11.15 o'clock A. M. on the 21st instant, and should have arrived at your headquarters in time to have permitted your answer to reach me within the limit as-signed, namely, four hours.

The fact that you were absent from your headquarters at the time of its arrival may be regarded as an unfortunate circumstance for the city of Charleston, but it is one for which I clearly am not responsible. This letter bore date at my headquarters, and was officially delivered by an officer of my staff. The inadvertent omission of my signature doubtless affords ground for special pleading, but it is not the argument of a commander solicitous only for the safety of sleeping women and children and unarmed men.

Your threats of retaliation for acts of mine, which you to not allege to be in violation of civilized warfare, except as regards the length of time allowed as notice of my intentions, are passed by without comment. I will, however, call your attention to the well established principle that the commander of a place attacked, but not invested, having its avenues of escape open and practicable, has no right to expect any notice of an intended bombardment other than that which is given by the threatening attitude of his adversary. Even had this letter not been written, the city of Charleston has had, according to your own computation, forty days' notice of her danger. During that time my attack upon her defences has steadily pro ultimate object of that attack has at no me been doubtful.

If, under the circumstances, the life of a single non ombatant is exposed to peril by the bombardment of the city the responsibility rests with those who have first failed to apprize the non-combatants, or secure the safety of the city, after having held control of all its approaches for a period of nearly two years and a half, in the presence of a threatening force, and who afterwards refused to accept the terms upon which the bombardment might have bee From various sources, official and otherwise, postponed. led to believe that most of the women and children of Charleston were long since removed from the city. But upon your assurance that the city is still full of them, shall suspend the bombardment until 11 o'clock P. M. to-morrow, thus giving you two days from the time you acknowledged to have received my communication of the

Very respectfully, your obedient servant, Q. A. GILLMORE, Brigadier General Commanding.

Com'g Confederate States forces, Charleston, S. C. The British and Spanish Consuls, it is stated, respectively addressed Gen. Gillmore on behalf of the subjects of their countries in Charleston, and he cheerfully suspended the bombardment for twenty four hours, to give them time to leave the city. Nothing was further, he says, from his wish than to endanger their lives or property. His letter taxation to save the Union exclusively by other means. to the Spanish Consul was published in the Intelligencer

OFFICIAL REPORTS OF LATE CAPTURES.

It was announced in our columns two or three days ago that the United States steamer De Soto, Capt. WM, M. WALKER, had captured two more prizes in the Gulf of Mexico and sent them into Key West. The De Soto, since the 24th of April last, has captured four steamers and eight schooners, all laden with valuable cargoes. The following are Capt. Walker's official reports of his latest captures:

UNITED STATES STEAMER DE SOTO, Gulf of Mexico, August 16, 1863.

Sir: I have the bonor to inform you that I have this day seized, for violation of the blockade, the steamer Alice Vivian, S. W. Abels, master, who represented that the steamer was from Mobile, laden with cotton and bound to Havana. On demanding her papers her master stated that he had thrown them overboard. I have ordered the

Alice Vivian to Key West for adjudication.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

WM. M. WALKER, Captain U. S. Navy. Hon. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES STEAMER DE SOTO.

Gulf of Mexico, August 17, 1863 Sir: I have the honor to inform you that I have this day, in lat 29 45, long. 86 40, seized, for an attempted violation of the blockade proclaimed and instituted by the President of the United States, the steamer Nita, George Blakesley, master, who represented that the steamer was from Havana, 13th instant, laden with provisions and mediines, and bound into Mobile. On demanding her papers her master stated he had none, and, in reply to my inquiry, admitted that he had destroyed them. I have ordered the

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant, W. M. Walker, Captain U. S. Navy. Hon. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy.

UNITED STATES SHIP DE SOTO,

Gulf of Mexico, August 22, 1863. Sin: On the day of the capture of the Confederate steamer Alice Vivian a falling barometer and the threat ening aspect of the weather, together with a consideration separation from her, I had not had time to ascertain the character of the passengers trans'erred from her to this ship. Upon examination I find that among these men are several of the "staff" of Gen. Slaughter, C. S. Army. I am informed that Gen. Slaughter had embarked ward the steamer with all his "staff." but that a few ours previous to leaving Mobile Bay he returned to the city, accompanied by Capt. Aldrich, of his staff, and persaps others, whether with the intention of rejoining the steamer I could not learn. But from the fact that the baggage of Capt. Aldrich and others had been left on oard, it is probable that such had been his intention.

The destination of Gen Slaughter is Texas, whither he was going to raise a brigade. On my arrival at Key West to-morrow, probably 1 shall suggest that the baggage and papers belonging to these officers be submitted to the scrutiny of Gen. Woodbury.

I am, very respectfully, your obedient servant,
W. M. WALKER, Captain U. S. Navy. Hon. GIDEON WELLES, Secretary of the Navy.

VOTING IN THE ARMY.

The following "General Order No. 295" from the War Department, recognising the right of suffrage to Minnesots soldiers under an enactment of their State, has just been published:

WAR DEPARTMENT Adjutant General's Office, Washington,

August 31, 1863. General Orders No. 295 .- By an act of the Legislature of the State of Minnesota, approved September 27, 1863, the right to vote for certain State officers is given to olunteers or soldiers from that State in the military ser- ed in the Federal Government. vice of the United States, and provision is made for the appointment of commissioners to the regiments of Minnesota volunteers for the purpose of carrying out this act. missioners from Minnesota be furnished with proper facilities for visiting the volunteers from that State, and allowed access to them for the purpose indicated.

By order of the Secretary of War: E. D. TOWNSEND, A. A. G.

THE PEACE QUESTION.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN PRESIDENT LINCOLN AND HON. FERNANDO WOOD.

The New York journals of yesterday contain the subjoined correspondence, which took place in December last between President Lincoln and the Hon. FERNANDO WOOD, of New York, relative to an alleged disposition of the Seceded States to lay down their arms and resume their duties in the Union, on the condition that a general amnesty should be granted by the President of the United States. As this proposition has, within the past seven or eight months, been repeatedly alluded to in the public prints, and also we believe in the debates of Congress, we place the entire correspondence before our readers, in order that they may be enabled to understand the true nature of a proposition which has been variously described, according to the political predilections or the party bias of those who have had occasion to refer to it. The President's letter, it appears to us, was under the circumstances altogether proper.

Mr. Wood to President Lincoln. NEW YORK, DECEMBER 8, 1862.

Hon. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States DEAR SIR: On the 25th of November last I was advised by an authority, which I deemed likely to be well informed as well as reliable and truthful, that the Southern States would send Representatives to the next Congress, provided that a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so. No guarantee or terms were asked for other than the amnesty referred to. Deeming this information of great value if well founded, I communicated it in substance to the Hon. George Opdyke, the Mayor of this city, whom I knew to hold confidential relations to members of your Administration, and proposing, through him, that if the Government would permit the correspondence, under its own inspection, I would undertake to procure something definite and positive from persons connected with the so-called Confederate authorities. Mr. Opdyko stated in reply that several Senators from New England States were then in this city on their way to Washington, to whom he would at once communicate the proposition, and advise me of the answer. Knowing that these gentle men were your friends, and supposing that they wou mediately confer with you on their arrival at the capital, and supposing that I should be speedily informed of the re-sult, I have delayed until now making a communication

direct to you.

I now learn, however, from Mr. Opdyke this day, that he failed to see these Senators when in New York, and that he had not made the proposition, and that therefore you are not in possession of it as coming from myself

As an humble but loyal citizen, deeply impressed with

he great necessity of restoring the Union of these States, I ask your immediate attention to this subject. The magnitude of the interests at stake warrant some executive action predicated upon this information, if it be only to ascertain if it be grounded upon even probable foundation. If it sha'l prove groundless no barm shall have been done, provided the inquiry be made, as it can be, without comomising the Government or injury to the cause in which t is now engaged. If, however, it shall prove well ounded, there is no estimate too high to place upon its national value.

Now, therefore, Mr. President, I suggest that gentlemen whose former political and social relations with the leaders of the Southern revolt may be allowed to hold unofficial correspondence with them on this subject-the correspondence to be submitted to you It may be thus ascertained what, if any, credence may be given to these statements, and also whether a peaceful solution of the present struggle may not be attainable. I am sure nothing that I can say can add to your own well known desire to produce this result. Your exalted position, the embarrassments and responsibilities which surround you upon all sides, the bleeding condition of the country, becomin exhausted, not only in the impoverishment of its best life lood, of industrial production, but in the deterioration and consequent destruction of our political institutionsall call upon you, as our chief ruler, to take one step upon the road of peaceful effort, by which to ascertain whether fighting may not accomplish what military force has failed the following passages:

In the origin of this struggle, you foresaw that such a time would come. Your inaugural address, delivered near two years ago, pointed out with prophetic vision the certain results of the impending conflict of arms. Your language then was, "Suppose you go to war, you cannot fight always, and when, after much loss on both sides, and no gain on either, you cease fighting, the identical questions as to terms of intercourse are again upon you. saw that after a bloody and terrible struggle "the still small voice of reason" would intervene and settle the controversy. You know that since the establishment of Christian civilization negotiation and compromise have, sooner or later, determined every military contest. It cannot be otherwise here. Has not the time arrived when, to quote your own language, we should "cease fighting," igh to ascertain whether "the identical questions" about which we began the fight may not be micably and honorably adjusted, and the "terms of intercourse" be once more peaceably established? It is to this end that I now address you-with confidence in you pa triotism, and with no desire to interfere with your legit mate constitutional prerogatives.

I am, with high respect, yours very tru'y, FERNANDO WOOD.

President Lincoln to Mr. Wood.

EXECUTIVE MANSION. Washington, December 12, 1862. Hon, FERNANDO WOOD.

MY DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 8th, with the accompanying note of same date, was received yesterday. The most important paragraph in the letter, as I con-

sider, is in these words : "On the 25th of November last I was advised by an authority which I deemed likely to be well informed as well as reliable and truthful, that the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress, provided that a full and general amnesty should permit them to do so. No guarantee or terms were asked for other than the amnesty referred to."

I strongly suspect your information will prove to be roundless; nevertheless, I thank you for communicating t to me. Understanding the phrase in the paragraph above rage. [Cheers.]" quoted-" the Southern States would send representatives to the next Congress" -- to be substantially the same as that "the people of the Southern States would cease resistance, and would reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the national authority within the limits of such States, under the Constitution of the United States." I say that in such case the war would cease on the part of the United States; and that if within a reasonable time " a full and general amnesty" were necessary to such end, it would not be withheld

this, formally or informally, to the people of the Southern States. My belief is that they already know it; and when they choose, if ever, they can communicate with me une. quivocally. Nor do I think it proper now to suspend mili tary operations to try any experiment of negotiation.

I should nevertheless receive, with great pleasure, the exact information you now have, and also such other as you may in any way obtain. Such information might be more valuable before the 1st of January than afterward. While there is nothing in this letter which I shall dread to see in history, it is, perhaps, better for the present that tical amount of the military force involved is so trifling that in this case it is probably about as well to give the to request that you will regard it as confidential

Your obedient servant, A. LINCOLN.

Mr. Wood to President Lincoln NEW YORK, DECEMBER 17, 1862.

His Excellency ABRAHAM LINCOLN. My DEAR SIR: Your letter of the 12th instant was handed to me on the afternoon of the 15th instant by Mr.

Wakeman, the Postmaster of this city. has filled me with profound regret. It declines what I had conceived to be an innocent effort to ascertain the foundation for information in my possession of a desire in the South to return to the Union. It thus appears to be an indication on your part to continue a policy which, in many, is in conflict with the constitutional authority vest-

I think, however, that my proposition is in keeping with your own expressed conditions upon which the war shall ease. You say that " when the people of the Southern States would cease resistance, and would reinaugurate submit to, and maintain the national authority within the

Admitting this position as correct, you will see that as a condition precedent to such submission the opportunity to do so must be affirded. It cannot be expected that the Southern people will cease resistance, so long as we pro-claim our jutention to destroy their local institutions, their property, and their lives, and accompany the declaration with corresponding legislative, executive, social, and political action. They cannot cease resistance, and reinaugurate, submit to, and maintain the Federal authority, if we will not let them alone long enough to do so. If they really desire acquiescence, and are willing to send dele gates to the next Congress, as I am advised, how can they do so without the opportunity, and without some intimations or guarantees as to the reception of their represen-tatives at Washington? The act of sending representatives to Congress is within itself a full compliance with your own conditions. If thus represented by their own selected agents, chesen under the forms and in pursuance of their

My respectful suggestion was that you should put it in their power to take this course. It would require a sim-ple proclamation of general amnesty, to be qualified, if you please, by such conditions as to render it void in case of non-compliance within a limited period. You have established a precedent for this mide of speaking to those people. Your Emancipation Proclamation told of punishment Let another be issued, speaking the language of mercy and breathing the spirit of conciliation.

own local State laws governing such elections, they will compose an integral portion of the Government, and thus

give the assurance of an "acquiescence and submission the very highest and most satisfactory character.

The painful events which have occurred since my com-munication of the 8th instant but embolden me to renew its suggestions. I hope you will now no longer refuse " to suspend military operations to try an experiment of nego-tiation." I feel that military operations so bloody and exhausting as ours must sooner or later be suspended The day of suspension must come. The only question is whether it shall be before the whole American people, North and South, shall be involved in general ruin, o whether it shall be whilst there is remaining sufficient of the recuperative element of life by which to restore our once happy, prosperous, and peaceful American Union.

In compliance with your request that your letter shall not for the present become public, I shall withhold its publication at this time.

With high regard, yours, &c. FERNANDO WOOD.

ANOTHER MASSACRE BY NEGRO SOLDIERS. From the St. Louis Republican.

We have unquestionable authority for the truth of the rebellion on one side, and on the other by unconstitu statement below, horrible as it may seem to those who call acts of Congress and startling usurpations of power by ours the age of christianity and civilization. We give it in the words of the writer:

" On Tuesday night, the 25th ultimo, a party of thirtyme by Mr. A. M. Gwin, a planter residing at Brunswick Point. Mississippi : " The party of negroes got to the Hill place abo

ven o'clock at night and arrested Mr. Sims and Mr. Hill. They took them with them and proceeded to Mr. Fore's, arriving there at sun-up; arrested him and started up Deer When a short distance above Mr. Fores place road. When Mr. Fore saw they were to be shot he sprang into the cane; at the same instant the prisoners were fired upon. Mr. Sims and Mr. Hell fell dead Mr. Fore was shot through the shoulder. They proceeded up the creek to Mr. Clark's place and killed him at his house. They next went to Mr. Johnson's and killed him in the presence of his wife They next shot Mr. Chaney. They then returned down the creek. The negro in charge of the squad ordered that nothing should be taken from any of the "Mr. Fore made his way, in great suffering, to the river.

A negro man from the Hunt plantation gave the informa-tion of what occurred after Mr. Fore made his escape.

"The wives of the murdered men are at their homes party before they arrived at Hill's plantation, on their way up. Their names I did not learn. All the negroes were in full uniform and armed with muskets, and pistols in their belta.

"Deer Creek is in Issaquena county, Mississippi, and empties into Yazoo river at Haines s Bluff."

SPEECH BY GOV. SEYMOUR.

Gov. Seymour is on a visit to his home in Utica, and on Monday evening made a brief address to the people. From the time has not arrived when other methods than brute a report of it which appears in the Utica Courier we copy "He returned when those before him were affected by

question of deep interest to them all—he alluded to the eription act. He should not mar the occasion by sayin political opinion. He counselled that, however much they might differ as to the propriety or the justice of enlaw was violated their best interests were violated. Law they be found in open rebellion at the South or insidiousl protects us always. It is that which gives us security in at work at the North. sleep, at all times, and in all places, and we should always the conscription law, they wou'd all unite in such beneficent measures as would save from suffering those who

would tell them this again-let them not in opposition to law. There are remedies at the polls and in the courts. Every officer—legislative, executive, or judicial—is subject to the laws, and some time, sooner or later, to the decisions at the polls. The Laws and Constitution are ample to right all wrongs, and there is no remedy for injustice in acts of disorder; disorder and revolu-tion secure no rights, but create new wrongs. He alluded ed from the Union by force of arms, we look with abhorto this subject because party passions ran higher than before, and we are in danger of losing faith in our institu-tions. We must look to the judiciary and to the ballot box, and soon all will be well.

The clouds over our country are dark ; sufferings press heavily upon us; many have dark forebodings as they look about them and begin to study the future, but the Governor said it was not so with him. He had thought painfully and carefully upon the perils of the country, and been aided by correspondence from all parts of the country, and he was now confident that we would be once more a united and happy people, with a restored Union, with the rights of States respected, and that in little time American homes would be again saved from invasion and out-

NEGROES NOT ENROLLED IN KENTUCKY. Kentucky has a State law which forbids the recognition of blacks as citizens by making soldiers of them. Hence, when it was proposed to enroll blacks as well as whites for the conscription, a strong protest was sent up by the Union men of the State. It seems to have been effectual. A correspondent of the Cincinnati Gazatte says :

" It is a curious illustration of the tenacity with which old prejudices still maintain their sway, that the Kentucky authorities have persisted in opposing the enroll-I do not think it would be proper now to communicate ment of free negroes in this State, under the conscription law, till they have probably succeeded in carrying their

"The whole matter was at best of the most trifling dimensions; not more than three to five hundred free negroes in the State were liable to draft, and of these pro-bably fifty to seventy-five would have been drafted. The

Provost Marshal General Fry, it is said, has not actually consented to completing the enrollment without the negroes, but he has been informed of the circumstances, and notified that the negroes would be left out. The pracold prejudices their way.'

POWERS OF BOARDS OF ENROLLMENT The question whether a Board of Eurollment's decision WALADER (at Philadelphia) on a habeas corpus hearing. The complainant was illegally drafted for service; he, by his age, belonging to the second class of drafted men, who could not be called until the first class is exhausted. The time to draft, and plead that their decision was final, and guarding strictly the privilege of habeas corpus. . If the court had received the plea of the Board as a sufficient jusmy judgment, is not only unwise, but, in the opinion of tification of their act, and one which shut out any furthe inquiry, the man would have been compelled to serve, hough illegally drafted. Now he has an opportunity of proving his allegation, which, if true, will release him from service, to which he is not subject under the law. The action of the Government may be impeded in some cases by the habeas corpus, but the attempts made to tempora rily destroy or set aside this great privilege involve a great al more danger to popular liberty than the freest actio limits of such States under the Constitution of the United of the habeas corpus could do harm to the Government. States, that in such case the war would cease on the part. For this reason it should be sacredly guarded by the courts and be sustained by the people.-Ledger.

THE DEMOCRACY OF MASSACHUSETTS.

The Democratic State Convention of Massachusette which was held at Worcester on Thursday, the 3d instant was one of the largest Conventions ever held in that State The number of towns represented was 267, and the number of delegates 1,520. The Convention was not composed were willing to co-operate with them in efforts for the re- mary of it: storation of the Union on the basis of the Constitution.

Speeches were made by the Hon. Josiah G. Abbott, Dr. George B. Loring, Hon. R. S. Spofford, Gen. Whitney, Hon Henry W. Paine, and others.

The Hon. HENRY W. PAINE, who was nominated Attorney General, THEODORE H. SWEETSER, and for Auditor, Moses BATES.

Four delegates were elected to the National Convention viz: Judge Abbott, of Beston, E. D Beach, of Springfield,

chairman of the committee as he was reading them; and the vote by which they were passed was unanimous.

RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That the great duty of every citizen of the United States is to sustain the National Government, and as citizens, not partisans, ever mindful that although adinistrations of the government are transitory, the Gov ernment itself is permanent, and was intended by its founders to endure forever, we adopt, as expressing at once our duty and our determination, the language of Andrew Jackson, and declare that "the Federal Government must and shall be sustained."

Resolved, That our institutions are assailed by armed the Executive; the Democracy are equally opposed to both—they will meet the one with the sword and the

other by the ballot.

Resulved, That in the imperilled condition of our coun eight negro soldiers murdered nine peaceable citizens in try the Democrats of Massachusetts, having ever been cold blood. The facts are as follows, and were related to true to the Union, loyal to the Government, faithful to the liberties of the people, solemnly declare that the paramount objects of their political action shall be to restore the Union as our fathers framed it, to maintain and abide by in all truth and fidelity the Federal Constitution, to preserve the reserved rights of the several States, the unity of the nation and the liberties of the people, and to secure throughout the length and breadth of our country an honorable, fraternal, and permanent peace.

Resolved, That we implore all loyal men to consider the manifold dangers that threaten our nation, our form of government, and our liberties, through Executive usurpa tions, Coogressional enactments, disregard of judicial pro-cesses and decisions by Federal officers, the subordination of civil to military trabunals, arbitrary arrests, refusals of those in power to grant trials by jury, suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, arbitrary banishment of citizens for the expression of opinion, and the efforts to control, on the the Administration, by threats and force, the great safeguard of the people—the ballet-box—and sincerely invoke them to lay aside all old differences, and, meeting us on a common platform, aid and assist us in our efforts t improtected. Four more were murdered by the same restore the Union, maintain the Constitution, preserve the iberties of the people and the ucity of the nation, and secure the blessedness of an honorable peace.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the doctrine of secen sion as fatal to our national unity; that we are opposed to all interference on the part of the National Government or its officers with the local and domestic affairs of the several States; and we are opposed to all interference by the citizens of one State with the domestic affairs of any other State, because the one tends directly to centraliza tion of power in the General Government and the othe tends to destroy the peace and harmony of the people that we are opposed to the assumption of any assume powers by any department of the Government as danger s to the liberties of the people and contrary to the i tent of the founders of the Government; that we are op posed to any and all efforts on the part of the Administra tion to continue the present deplorable civil war for the ing any thing to wound any present who differed from him | purpose of subjugation or emancipation; that we are op posed to the extension of martial law over States not in rebellion; that we are opposed to all interference by the actments, they should never allow their prejudices or pessions to carry them beyond the point where they would be obedient to the laws. They must remember that when the enemies of the Constitution and the Union, whether

Resolved, That our present Government was formed by manifest respect for it. If the conscription bears harshly a people which owed all-giance to several distinct and on the people let us alleviate the hardships thrust upon them, not by violence, but by kind acts and mutual aid.

Expressing his gratification that the Supervisors in Oneida county were about meeting to consider the subject of aid. ing those on whom the draft falls heavily, he said he was "reserved to the States respectively, or to the people" all quite sure that whatever might be men's differences about the powers not delegated by the Constitution to the Gene ral Government; that obedience to the Constitution is the only true test of loyalty to the Government, and any wilcould ill bear the burden laid upon them.

"There were other things to which he would wish to allude, but he could not allude to jarring questions. He whether in time of war or in time of peace, under the put themselves plea of military necessity, moral duty, or any other momuch danger to the Government and the rights and liber ties of the people as armed resistance to the laws or open reb llion.

Resolved, That, as our Union is composed of indepenrence on the proposition of leading Republicans to proceed, by the arms of the General Government, to thrust any State out of the Union, under the pretence that by the rebellion of any part or the whole of the citizens of any State such State has ceased to be an integral part of our Union

Resolved. That this Convention hail with joy the man festations in North Carolina and in other States where insurrection prevails of a desire in the people to renew their obligations to the Federal Constitution and to resume their political relations as co-equal States of this Union; and we arra gn the attempt of the radicals to insist on their party platform as a condition of peace as revolutionary in its character, and tending not merely to prolong the war, but to produce anarchy and despotism.

Resolved, That whenever any State in arms against the aws of the Government shall lay down its arms and submit to the laws and the constituted authorities the people thereof will be entitled to resume and enjoy all the rights and privileges given by the Laws and the Constitution to citizens of the reveral States.

Resolved, That we have entire confidence in the patriot sm of the people and in their determination voluntarily to sufficient force the army of the United States; we therefore look agon the conscription act passed by the last Congress as unwise and needless; we are opposed to its provisions as barsh, oppressive, and unequal in their operation, and contrary, as we believe, to the Constitution; but, ever mindful that our Government cannot exist if individual opinion be substituted for judicial decisions, we feel compelled to obey and counsel obedience to the act and all nets of Congress until the competent judicial tribunals shall declare them to be unconstitutional, or until

they have been legally repealed.

Resolved, That the soldiers fighting in the armies of our bably fifty to seventy-five would have been drafted. The recruiting officers say they lost quadruple that number of volunteers in a fortnight, during the excitement on the half expressed for them did we fail to censure the reckless and improvident management of the civil department that directs them, and the cruel delay and refusal to hold out the olive branch of peace to those erring States, by which this protracted and cruel war may be speedily and

Resolved, That the thanks of every liberty-loving, law abiding, and honest man throughout the land are due to the Hon. Horatio Seymour, Governor of the State of New York, who amid all the storms of fanaticism and rage that have swept over our nation, has stood up as the firm and The question whether a Board of Enrollment's decision unflinehing supporter of the Union, the Constitution, and the laws, and the rights of the States against Federal usurpations, and has so nobly vindicated and defended the ma

pations, and has so nobly vindicated and defended the ma-jesty and dignity of the people and State of New York.

Resolved, That the doctring of secession, and the doc-trines of its faithful ally of disusion, the aboliton party. could not be called until the first class is exhausted. The bave produced this deplorable civil war, are each entirely Board of Eurollment decided that he was liable at that

fort of our soldiers in the field and to nurse them in the God will reward them. hospital. Resolved. That we most earnestly desire peace, on such

terms as would be consistent with the honor of our natio and secure a permanent Union of the States. Resolved, That we present to the people of the Comm wealth the candidates whom we have this day nominated

as worthy in every respect of their undivided support, and eminently qualified for the respective offices for which

On the occasion of the August fete Louis Napole granted pardons to 1,396 convicts of different categories. ALLEGED RESTRAINT ON BRITISH COMMERCE

The British Government has recently caused to be pub ished the correspondence between its Department of Foreign Affairs and Mr. SEWARD, running over the period embraced between May 20th, 1862, and July 18th of the present year, and having reference to restrictions alleged of Democrats exclusively, in the strict party sense of the to have been placed upon British commerce between term, but also of such old-line Whigs and conservatives as American ports and these is and. The following is a sum-

The more important portion of the correspondence h The more important portion of the correspondence be-gan in S-ptember, 1862, in a note from the British repre-sentative in this country, Mr. STUART, in which he recites the grievances of Great Britain and announces that his Government cannot acquirece in the system of interference with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says Governor, is an old-line Webster Whig, and a man of extraction of the says collect reputation for ability and integrity. The other candidates are—for Lieutenant Governor, THOMAS F. PLUNKETT; for Secretary of State, F. O. PRINCE; for Treasurer and Receiver General, NATHAN CLARK; for Attorney General, THEODORE H. SWEETSER, and for Authority and the says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says with the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says and the legitimate trade of Great Britain which he says and the properties of the says and on board, are detained and searched, and are required either to reland portions of their cargoes, or to give bonds that no part of the cargo shall at any indefinite time be used by the enemies of the United States. Mr. Stuart viz: Judge Abbott, of Beston, E. D. Beach, of Springfield, Isaac Davis, of Worcester, and J. D. Thompson, of New Bedford. The alternates chosen are Oliver Stevens, of Boston, George W. Bentley, of Worcester, D. N. Carpenter, of Greenfield, and Charles Heebner, of Lee.

A long series of resolutions was adopted, which we copy at large. As they were read to the Convention they elicited the warmest applause—arresting several times the manner and to the extent prescribed by the international asserts, in continuation, that trade between Great Britain and the United States—is not in any degree affected by the state of war in which the United States—is not in any degree affected by the state of war in which the United States—is not in any degree affected by the state of war in which the United States—is not in any degree affected by the state of war in which the United States—is not in any degree affected by the state of war in which the United States. Mr. Stuart aw of blockade. And he concludes by saying that shipments lke those now subjected to interference, if made in time of peace, could not be prohibited without giving just cause of complaint to Great Britain, especially while they remain open to other nations, and that such a course assumes a state of quasi hostility to Great Britain on account of geographical or other circumstances suppo mix her up with the interests of the enemy of the United States.

To this protest Mr. SEWARD replies that there has been no violation of treaties or international law; that by the law of nations every State is sovereign over its own citizens and strangers within its limits; that it has a right to maintain that sovereignty against sedition and insurrection by civil preventives or penalties or by armed force, and to interdict such exportations from within its own borders as may supply traitors in arms against itself with the means of carrying on rebellion. These rights he denies have ever been surrendered by any treaty or convention, or are prohibited by international law. Admitting the principle that our proceedings, regulations and laws should not discriminate to the prejudice of Great Britain, Mr. Seward shows that they have not so discriminated. all of them applying with equal force to American citizens and people of all other countries; but that the difficulties experienced by British traders is owing to the peculiar nature of their shipments and the position of the ports with which they trade. The letter concludes with an assurance that our Government will examine upon its merits

any case or infringement upon British rights, and promptly render the redress due, if the complaint is sustained.

On the 17th of December, 1862, Earl RUSSELL replies to the arguments of Mr. SEWARD and reiterates that there has been a serious violation of treaty obligations by the United States, which violation has been attempted to be disguised under pretence of the right of domestic legisla-tion. He contends that it is not a case of domestic legis-lation, but a stoppage of British goods in transitu from Great Britain to the Bahamas, for causes not justified by international law; and insists that there had been an invidious distinction made by the United States against Great Britain.

In answer to this Mr. SEWARD again responds disclaim ing the charge of invidious discrimination; and the correspondence closes with a note from Earl RUSSELL to Lord Lyons, dated July 18th, in which he says his Government has been disappointed of its expectations that its esentatious respecting the interference complained of would be remedied; and directing Lord Lyons to address fresh remonstrance on the subject to the United States Government.

THE PETERHOFF'S CONDEMNATION

FROM THE LONDON TIMES OF AUGUST 20. The Testimony at the Late Trial at Croydon. Mr. Seward will eavy Mr. Bovill the opportunity he en-

joyed in the Assize Court of Croydon on Monday last of cross-examining the charterer of the Peterhoff. Of course. Mr. Seward knows very well in a general way how these matters are managed. People like to back their opinions and to render their sympathies profitable; and they make a purse, and they choose a swift ship, and they stuff her hold with gunpowder and quinine and other articles equally contraband for their power to kill and their power to cure, and then they get a desperate crew, a daring captain, and shrewd supercargo, and away she goes to break the blockade if she can, to get to Matamoras if she must, or to land her combustibles at some conveniently proximate port if every other attempt fails. Mr. Seward knows all this; but neither he nor Mr. Adams has been able to get at the details of these arrangements. Mr. Kahnweiler in the witness-box would have told a much more interesting story under the cross examination of Mr. Seward than he did under that of Mr. Bovill, who confined himself, naturally, to the case of his own client-an individual who, as a brother blockade breaker, would not find his interest in unnecessary revelations. Quite sufficient, however, came dern name for treason or revolution, is fraught with as out at Croydon to enable us to understand the transactions in which the Peterhoff has been concerned. . .

Whatever lawyers and diplomatists may find to dispute about in this matter of the Peterhoff, it seems evident to us that there is no good cause for any popular indignation about her. The people who engage in these speculations play a game in which the profits are enormous and the risks well known. They who undertake such adventures must act up to the maxim enounced by the plaintiff in the witness-box at Croydon, and "never cry after spilt milk." It would be as reasonable for a man to set his wife down at a whist table, and then, at the end of the rubber, to fly at the throat of the adversary who had won eight points of her, as it would be for us to look on while our merchanta play this game of breaking blockade and then make a national quarrel about a capture. The Dobson class of speculators do not inspire us with any sympathy, nor do they stand in need of our commiseration. They are generally men with plenty of money, and with very shrewd notions of the best way of laying it out to advantage. Their political sympathies for the most part sit very loosely upon them, nor are they inclined to examine very closely from which belligerent side a good profit may bappen to come. It is not at all surprising that Judge Betts should take a broad view of such transactions, and administer a little of that Lynch law which seems to have become prevalent in New York. We shall see what the Su preme Court will do; but we cannot say that we await the result with any grave alarm, or that we have read the decision of Judge Betts with any very vehement indignation. The trial at Croydon came opportunely as a glosa upon the Yankee judgment.

POSTAL CONSTRUCTION

The information conveyed in the following official publication will possess interest for the public generally :

Post Office Department, Appointment Office, September 8, 1863. The publication of the following construction of the new

postal law in regard to the weight of packages which may be sent free through the mails is deemed important to the public, and especially to persons connected with the several Executive Departments and Bureaus at Washington : The maximum weight of packages which may be sent through the mails is limited to four pounds, except Congressional documents and books published or purchased

by order of Congress. It was not the intention of the law to prescribe a smaller limit to franked packages to or from any of the Executive Departments or Bureaus, as that would exclude from the mails a large portion of the official correspondence of the Government. The limitation of packages to four ounces, in the 42d section of the law, was intended to enlarge the privilege of

members of Congress, theretofore limited to two ounces; and the omission in the printed law of the words " to Senators and Members of Congress," (as in the original bill,) after the word "granted," in the last sentence of that section, leads to an erroneous construction of the true intent and meaning of the law.

The Postmaster General, therefore, directs that all pack ages, otherwise entitled to go free, to and from the several Executive Departments and Bureaus at Washington, and not exceeding four pounds in weight, be allowed free transmission through the mails.

ALEX. W. RANDALL, First Assistant Postmaster General